

## Message Text

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STADIS//////////

E. O. 11652 N/A  
TAGS: EAGR, ETRD

PASS ASST. SECY ENDERS PRIOR TO HIS DEPARTURE AT 1400  
LOCAL APRIL 30.

SUBJECT: TESTIMONY BEFORE THE SENATE SUBCOMMITTEE ON  
FOREIGN AGRICULTURE POLICY.

1. FOLLOWING IS DRAFT TESTIMONY FOR YOUR APPEARANCE MAY 1  
AT 10:00 AM BEFORE SUBJECT SUBCOMMITTEE. AID DEPUTY  
ADMINISTRATOR MURPHY AND USDA DEPUTY ASST SECY BELL ALSO  
SCHEDULED TO APPEAR. SUBJECTS COVERED, AS INDICATED IN  
PARA 7 BELOW, REFLECT SUGGESTIONS OF COMMITTEE STAFF.

2. BEGIN TEXT. MR. CHAIRMAN AND MEMBERS OF THE  
SUBCOMMITTEE:

THE SETTING

THIS REVIEW OF ACTIONS TO FOLLOW-UP THE RECOMMENDA-  
TIONS OF THE WORLD FOOD CONFERENCE SEEMS TO ME TO BE  
ESPECIALLY TIMELY, AND I APPRECIATE THE OPPORTUNITY TO  
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APPEAR HERE TODAY.

3. THE WORLD FOOD CONFERENCE SUCCEEDED IN FOCUSING  
ATTENTION ON ONE OF MANKIND'S MOSTBASICAND PERSISTENT

PROBLEMS--THAT OF HUNGER. IT LAID A BASIS FOR THE SUSTAINED GLOBAL ACTION NEEDED TO OVERCOME THIS PROBLEM. IN THE INTERVENING FIVE MONTHS, THE NEW INSTITUTIONAL STRUCTURES CALLED FOR BY THE CONFERENCE HAVE BEGUN TO TAKE SHAPE. THE NEXT FIVE MONTHS OR SO WILL SEE THE LAUNCHING OF PROGRAMS DESIGNED TO ACCOMPLISH THE OBJECTIVE ADOPTED BY THE CONFERENCE FROM SECRETARY KISSINGER'S SPEECH ... QUOTE THAT WITHIN A DECADE NO CHILD WILL GO TO BED HUNGRY, THAT NO FAMILY WILL FEAR FOR ITS NEXT DAY'S BREAD, AND THAT NO HUMAN BEING'S FUTURE AND CAPABILITIES WILL BE STUNTED BY MALNUTRITION. UNQUOTE

4. OUR OWN PROGRAM OF ACTION RESTS UPON OUR ANALYSIS OF THE WORLD FOOD PROBLEM. THE WORLD'S POTENTIAL AGRICULTURAL CAPACITY IS GREAT ENOUGH, GIVEN PRESENT TECHNOLOGY, TO SUPPORT THE GLOBAL POPULATION PROJECTED FOR THE END OF THIS CENTURY AND BEYOND. THE FOOD PROBLEM, THEREFORE, IS ONE OF MEETING THE NEEDS OF AREAS WITH RAPIDLY GROWING POPULATIONS AND EXISTING FOOD DEFICITS -- PARTICULARLY SOUTH ASIA AND PARTS OF AFRICA. OVERALL, DEVELOPING COUNTRIES NOW IMPORT ABOUT 25 MILLION TONS OF GRAIN ANNUALLY. THIS COULD RISE TO AS MUCH AS 85 MILLION TONS BY 1985 -- AN AMOUNT WHICH EXPORTERS, MAINLY NORTH AMERICA, COULD PROVIDE BUT WHICH WOULD BE VIRTUALLY IMPOSSIBLE TO TRANSPORT AND FINANCE ON A SUSTAINED BASIS.

5. THIS IMPORT REQUIREMENT OF DEVELOPING COUNTRIES IS THE QUOTE FOOD GAP UNQUOTE. IT CAN BE MET IN THE SHORT RUN BY INCREASING PRODUCTION AMONG TRADITIONAL EXPORTERS AND TRANSFERRING INCREASED AMOUNTS OF FOOD ON CONCESSIONAL TERMS. FOR THE LONGER RUN, PRODUCTION MUST BE ACCELERATED IN THE FOOD DEFICIT AREAS.

6. A COORDINATE PROBLEM IS THE SHRINKING MARGIN OF SAFETY BETWEEN ANNUAL GRAIN PRODUCTION AND THE CONSUMPTION NEEDS OF A GROWING POPULATION, MADE ACUTE BY THE PRESENT NEAR LIMITED OFFICIAL USE  
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EXHAUSTION OF WORLD GRAIN RESERVES. TO PROVIDE A DEPENDABLE DEGREE OF SECURITY OF SUPPLY AND TO AVOID THE EXTREME INTERNATIONAL PRICE FLUCTUATIONS, SHARP DOMESTIC ECONOMIC ADJUSTMENTS, AND FOREIGN POLITICAL PRESSURES OF THE PAST THREE YEARS, IT IS DESIRABLE TO ESTABLISH AN INTERNATIONALLY COORDINATED SYSTEM OF NATIONAL GRAIN RESERVES.

7. OTHER SPOKESMEN HERE TODAY, ARE BEST ABLE TO DISCUSS THE PROGRAMS OF THE AGENCY FOR INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT IN FOOD AID, AGRICULTURAL DEVELOPMENT ASSISTANCE AND NUTRITION IMPROVEMENT, AND THE OUTLOOK OF THE DEPARTMENT

OF AGRICULTURE ON FOOD PRODUCTION. MY COMMENTS WILL FOCUS ON THE INSTITUTIONAL FRAMEWORK WHICH HAS DEVELOPED OUT OF THE FOOD CONFERENCE AND ON WHAT I UNDERSTAND TO BE THE SUBCOMMITTEE'S PARTICULAR INTEREST IN ACTIONS TO IMPROVE WORLD FOOD SECURITY AND ON TRADE-RELATED ISSUES CONSIDERED BY THE FOOD CONFERENCE.

#### INSTITUTIONAL FRAMEWORK

THE FOOD CONFERENCE PROPOSED SPECIFIC NEW INSTITUTIONAL DEVICES IN THE AREAS OF FOOD AID, AGRICULTURAL DEVELOPMENT AND FINANCE, FOOD SECURITY, AND OVERALL COORDINATION. ARRANGEMENTS FOR EACH OF THESE ARE WELL UNDERWAY.

THE PREREQUISITE TO INSTITUTIONAL FOLLOW-UP WAS ACCEPTANCE OF FOOD CONFERENCE RESOLUTIONS BY ECOSOC AND THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY. THIS WAS ACCOMPLISHED BEFORE ADJOURNMENT OF THESE BODIES LAST DECEMBER.

IN THE AREA OF FOOD AID, THE FOOD CONFERENCE RECOMMENDED THAT THE GOVERNING BODY OF THE UN'S WORLD FOOD PROGRAM BE RECONSTITUTED AS THE COMMITTEE ON FOOD AID POLICIES AND PROGRAMMES. THIS WAS DONE IN MARCH WHEN THE FORMER INTERGOVERNMENTAL COMMITTEE ENLARGED AND REFORMED ITSELF TO DISCHARGE NEW RESPONSIBILITIES TO REVIEW AND RECOMMEND IMPROVED COORDINATION BETWEEN BILATERAL AND MULTILATERAL FOOD AID PROGRAMS, IN ADDITION TO CONTINUING LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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TO GUIDE OPERATIONS OF THE WORLD FOOD PROGRAM.

WORK HAS GONE FORWARD UNDER THE JOINT AUSPICES OF THE IBRD, FAO AND UNDP ON FORMATION OF A CONSULTATIVE GROUP ON FOOD PRODUCTION AND INVESTMENT TO DEVELOP MEANS FOR INCREASING FOOD PRODUCTION IN DEVELOPING COUNTRIES. THE GROUP IS TO INCLUDE REPRESENTATION FROM BOTH DONORS AND RECIPIENTS. DONORS ARE TO BE SELF-SELECTED, WITH REPRESENTATION FROM RECIPIENTS DISTRIBUTED REGIONALLY. THE GROUP WILL NOT CONTROL DISTRIBUTION OF DEVELOPMENT RESOURCES BUT IS TO ADDRESS POLICY ISSUES IMPORTANT TO OPTIMUM BENEFIT FROM AGRICULTURAL INVESTMENT, SUCH AS:

--DEVELOPMENT OBJECTIVES AND THE ADEQUACY OF RESOURCE FLOWS,  
--; S FOR INCREASING RESOURCE TRANSFERS,

--INVESTMENT STRATEGIES AND FOOD PRODUCTION POLICIES.

THE INITIAL RESPONSE OF BOTH TRADITIONAL DONORS AND POTENTIAL NEW DONORS AMONG THE OIL EXPORTING COUNTRIES HAS

BEEN POSITIVE. THE RECIPIENT DEVELOPING COUNTRIES ARE IN THE PROCESS OF SELECTING THEIR REPRESENTATION AND A FIRST MEETING IS BEING PLANNED FOR JULY.

FOOD CONFERENCE STAFF ANALYSTS CONCLUDED THAT AGRICULTURAL INVESTMENT IN DEVELOPING COUNTRIES SHOULD BE INCREASED FROM ABOUT DOLLARS 1.5 BILLION CURRENTLY TO DOLLARS 5 BILLION BY 1985 TO MEET THEIR GROWING NEEDS. THE CONFERENCE GRAPPLED AT LENGTH WITH THE NEED FOR NEW INSTITUTIONS TO FINANCE THIS INVESTMENT AND CONCLUDED THAT NEW ARRANGEMENTS WERE JUSTIFIED ONLY TO THE EXTENT THAT THEY WERE REQUIRED TO GENERATE ADDITIONAL CAPITAL. A RESOLUTION CALLING FOR ESTABLISHMENT OF A NEW INTER-NATIONAL FUND FOR AGRICULTURAL DEVELOPMENT WAS PROPOSED BY A NUMBER OF OPEC AND OTHER DEVELOPING COUNTRIES AND WAS ADOPTED. HOWEVER, THE PROPOSED FUND MUST MEET TWO CRITERIA ESTABLISHED BY THE CONFERENCE; THERE MUST BE BOTH THE PROMISE OF SUBSTANTIAL ADDITIONAL RESOURCES AND OF CONTINUED OPERATION. UN SECRETARY GENERAL WALDHEIM WILL OPEN A CONSULTATION IN GENEVA NEXT WEEK TO EXPLORE ESTABLISHED OFFICIAL USE  
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BLISHING THE FUND. THE U.S. WILL PARTICIPATE IN THIS CONSULTATION CONFIDENT OF ITS UNMATCHED RECORD OF FINANCIAL SUPPORT FOR AGRICULTURAL DEVELOPMENT. THE U.S. IS RECEP-TIVE TO THE IDEAS OF OTHERS, PARTICULARLY THE SPONSORS OF THE FUND RESOLUTION, AND WISHES TO HEAR THEM BEFORE CONCLUDING WHETHER A NEW INSTITUTION IS NEEDED AND HOW IT SHOULD BE STRUCTURED.

TO MAINTAIN HIGH-LEVEL ATTENTION TO THE WORLD FOOD PROBLEM AND TO PROVIDE FOR CONTINUING REVIEW OF ALL FOOD-RELATED PROGRAMS OPERATED BY UN AGENCIES, THE CONFERENCE CALLED FOR A WORLD FOOD COUNCIL TO MEET AT MINISTERIAL LEVEL. THE US IS A MEMBER OF THIS COUNCIL, WHICH WILL HAVE ITS INAUGURAL SESSION IN LATE JUNE. AS THESE PROGRAMS MULTIPLY AND EXPAND THEIR OPERATIONS, THE COUNCIL'S COORDINATING ROLE WILL BECOME INCREASINGLY IMPORTANT.

FOOD SECURITY.

IN A SPEECH TO THE UN GENERAL ASSEMBLY LAST FALL, PRESIDENT FORD EXPRESSED US WILLINGNESS TO JOIN IN A WORLD-WIDE EFFORT TO NEGOTIATE, ESTABLISH, AND MAINTAIN AN INTERNATIONAL SYSTEM OF NATIONALLY-HELD GRAIN RESERVES.

AT THE WORLD FOOD CONFERENCE IN ROME IN NOVEMBER, SECRETARY KISSINGER PROPOSED NEGOTIATION OF AN AGREEMENT ON A RESERVES SYSTEM TO INCLUDE THE FOLLOWING ELEMENTS:

--EXCHANGE OF INFORMATION ON LEVELS OF RESERVE AND  
WORKING STOCKS, ON CROP PROSPECTS AND ON INTEN-  
TIONS REGARDING IMPORTS OR EXPORTS;

--AGREEMENT ON THE SIZE OF GLOBAL RESERVES REQUIRED  
TO PROTECT AGAINST FAMINE AND PRICE FLUCTUATIONS;

--SHARING OF THE RESPONSIBILITY FOR HOLDING RESERVES;

--GUIDELINES ON THE MANAGEMENT OF NATIONAL RESERVES,  
DEFINING THE CONDITIONS FOR ADDING TO RESERVES AND  
FOR RELEASING FROM THEM;  
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--PREFERENCE FOR COOPERATING COUNTRIES IN THE  
DISTRIBUTION OF RESERVES;

--PROCEDURES FOR ADJUSTMENT OF TARGETS AND SETTLE-  
MENT OF DISPUTES AND MEASURES FOR DEALING WITH NON-  
COMPLIANCE.

THE WORLD FOOD CONFERENCE ADOPTED A RESOLUTION ON  
FOOD SECURITY, IN ACCORDANCE WITH WHICH THE US CONVENED  
AN AD HOC MEETING OF TEN OTHER GOVERNMENTS IN LONDON IN  
FEBRUARY TO EXPLORE THE ELEMENTS OF A POSSIBLE RESERVES  
AGREEMENT. WHILE NO FORMAL CONSENSUS WAS REACHED, THE  
DISCUSSION CONCERNED THE FOLLOWING:

--COMMODITY COVERAGE,

--SIZE OF TOTAL RESERVE,

--CRITERIA FOR DISTRIBUTION OF STOCKHOLDING RESPON-  
SIBILITY AMONG PARTICIPANTS,

--RIGHTS AND OBLIGATIONS OF PARTICIPANTS.

IT IS NATURAL THAT THE US SHOULD TAKE THE INITIATIVE  
IN DISCUSSING A GRAIN RESERVES AGREEMENT. OUR ROLE IN THE  
WORLD FOOD ECONOMY IS PREDOMINANT. SINCE 1972, THE UNITED  
STATES HAS PROVIDED ABOUT 40 PERCENT OF WORLD EXPORTS OF  
FOODGRAINS AND ABOUT 60 PERCENT OF FEEDGRAINS AND OIL-  
SEEDS.

HAVING ASSUMED THIS LEADERSHIP ROLE, WE BELIEVE IT  
ESSENTIAL TO EXERCISE IT RESPONSIBLY, BOTH IN SUPPORT  
OF OUR OWN INTERESTS AND THOSE OF OTHERS. THIS DOES NOT  
MEAN SUBORDINATING OUR FARM POLICY TO OUR FOREIGN POLICY,  
IT MEANS USING IT CONSTRUCTIVELY IN OUR DEALINGS WITH  
OTHER COUNTRIES.

A RESERVES AGREEMENT, WE BELIEVE, OFFERS AN OPPORTUNITY TO DO JUST THIS. WE SHARE A GENERAL INTEREST IN PREVENTING WORLD FOOD SHORTAGES AND FAMINE. THE ESTABLISH-

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MENT OF ADEQUATE GRAIN RESERVES CAN PLAY AN IMPORTANT ROLE BY ASSURING SUPPLIES OF GRAIN TO OFFSET PRODUCTION SHORTFALLS. OTHER PROGRAMS APART FROM RESERVES ARE BEING DEVELOPED TO ASSIST COUNTRIES TO INCREASE THE GENERAL LEVEL OF THEIR PRODUCTION, TO IMPROVE THE MEANS OF FOOD DISTRIBUTION AND FINANCING, AND TO PROVIDE FOOD AID WHERE NEEDED. THESE ARE NOT, HOWEVER, AMONG THE PURPOSES OF RESERVES. A RESERVES AGREEMENT SHOULD, IN OUR VIEW, AIM ONLY AT ASSURING THE AVAILABILITY OF SUPPLY.

WE BELIEVE THAT A RESERVES AGREEMENT WOULD SERVE OUR OWN INTERESTS. FIRST, IT WOULD SPREAD THE RESPONSIBILITY FOR HOLDING STOCKS AMONG ALL PARTICIPANTS.

SECOND, RULES PROVIDING FOR THE ACCUMULATION OF STOCKS WOULD HELP TO REMOVE EXCESS SUPPLIES FROM THE MARKET IN THOSE YEARS WHEN PRODUCTION EXCEEDS NORMAL REQUIREMENTS, THEREBY PREVENTING UNECONOMIC PRICE DROPS.

THIRD, RULES FOR THE DRAWDOWN OF RESERVES WOULD REDUCE THE THREAT OF STOCKS BEING DUMPED ON THE MARKET. THIS IS A POINT OF PARTICULAR INTEREST TO US PRODUCERS, WHO HAVE BEEN CONCERNED THAT THE EXISTENCE IN THE PAST OF LARGE GOVERNMENT-HELD STOCKS NOT SUBJECT TO SUCH RULES HAS DEPRESSED MARKET PRICES. WHATEVER ITS VALIDITY IN THE PAST, THIS OBJECTIVE CAN BE SUBSTANTIALLY OVERCOME BY MAKING THE RELEASE OF RESERVES SUBJECT TO INTERNATIONALLY, AS WELL AS NATIONALLY ACCEPTED RULES WHICH WOULD CLEARLY DEFINE THE CONDITIONS WHICH REQUIRE ADDITIONAL SUPPLIES OF GRAIN. TAKEN TOGETHER, THESE RULES FOR THE ACCUMULATION AND RELEASE OF STOCKS WOULD WORK TO MODERATE EXTREME FLUCTUATIONS IN PRICES, WHICH IN GENERAL BENEFIT NEITHER PRODUCERS NOR CONSUMERS, BUT NEED NOT INTERFERE WITH NORMAL MARKET OPERATIONS.

FOURTH, BY ENCOURAGING ALL MAJOR CONSUMERS TO HOLD

RESERVES, THE AGREEMENT SHOULD WORK TO AVOID SITUATIONS LIKE 1972, WHEN THE USSR PREEMPTED A MAJOR SHARE OF OUR GRAIN CROP AT BARGAIN PRICES, THEREBY SHIFTING THE BURDEN OF ADJUSTMENT TO THEIR SHORTFALL FROM THE SOVIET UNION TO

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THE UNITED STATES.

FINALLY, THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A SYSTEM OF RESERVES SUBJECT TO KNOWN RULES GOVERNING THEIR RELEASE WOULD REPRESENT AN IMPORTANT ASSURANCE TO IMPORTERS OF THE RELIABILITY OF THE U.S. AS A SUPPLIER OF THE GRAINS THEY NEED AND WOULD REDUCE THE THREAT OF THE ABRUPT IMPOSITION OF EXPORT CONTROLS ON THESE PRODUCTS.

THESE ARE THE BENEFITS WHICH WE BELIEVE AN EFFECTIVE RESERVES SYSTEM COULD OFFER TO U.S. PRODUCERS AND CONSUMERS. OTHERS MAY NOT FULLY AGREE, BUT MAJOR DIFFERENCES SEEM TO CONCERN NOT THE BENEFITS THEMSELVES BUT INSTEAD HOW THESE PROMISES WOULD BE MOST EFFECTIVELY FULFILLED, AND AT WHAT COST.

SUBSEQUENT TO THE AD HOC MEETING OF LAST FEBRUARY, WORK ON TECHNICAL ASPECTS OF A POSSIBLE RESERVES AGREEMENT --SUCH AS DEVELOPMENT OF QUANTITATIVE, RATHER THAN PRICE, INDICATORS FOR SIGNALLING ACQUISITION AND RELEASE OF STOCKS--BEGAN UNDER THE AUSPICES OF THE INTERNATIONAL WHEAT COUNCIL IN A SPECIAL PREPARATORY GROUP ESTABLISHED TO EXPLORE POSSIBLE BASES FOR A SUCCESSOR TO THE PRESENT INTERNATIONAL WHEAT AGREEMENT. THE GROUP IS TO REPORT ITS PROGRESS TO THE NEXT REGULAR SESSION OF THE WHEAT COUNCIL IN LATE JUNE. ACTUAL NEGOTIATIONS LEADING TO AN INTERNATIONAL AGREEMENT ON GRAIN RESERVES HAVE YET TO BEGIN.

MEANWHILE, THE UNITED NATIONS' FOOD AND AGRICULTURE-ORGANIZATION (FAO) HAS COMPLETED AND REFERRED TO MEMBER GOVERNMENTS FOR THEIR ACCEPTANCE THE INTERNATIONAL UNDERTAKING ON WORLD FOOD SECURITY, ENDORSED BY THE FOOD CONFERENCE. THE UNDERTAKING OUTLINES A SET OF NON-BINDING PRINCIPLES TO GUIDE NATIONAL STOCK POLICIES AS A BASIS FOR INTERNATIONAL COORDINATION. FAO MEMBERS WERE REQUESTED BY THE ORGANIZATION'S DIRECTOR GENERAL TO NOTIFY HIM OF THEIR ACCEPTANCE OF THE UNDERTAKING WELL BEFORE THE MEETING OF THE FAO COMMITTEE ON WORLD FOOD SECURITY, WHOSE ESTABLISHMENT WAS RECOMMENDED BY THE FOOD CONFERENCE. THE UNITED STATES INFORMED THE DIRECTOR GENERAL OF ITS ACCEPTANCE  
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OF THE UNDERTAKING LAST MARCH.

THE FAO HAS CONVENED A SPECIAL CONSULTATION ON WORLD FOOD SECURITY FOR LATER THIS MONTH, PENDING CREATION OF THE STANDING COMMITTEE BY THE FAO COUNCIL WHEN IT MEETS THIS FALL. WE BELIEVE THAT FAO COULD USEFULLY CONTRIBUTE TO IMPROVING INFORMATION ABOUT WORLD SUPPLY, DEMAND AND STOCK SITUATION FOR MAJOR FOOD GRAINS THROUGH SUCH A

COMMITTEE.

TRADE.

THE WORLD FOOD CONFERENCE ADOPTED AN ELABORATE RESOLUTION ON TRADE, STABILIZATION AND AGRICULTURAL ADJUSTMENT. IT REFLECTS BOTH THE CONCEPTS OF PREFERENTIAL TREATMENT AND RESOURCE TRANSFERS VIA TRADE THAT DEVELOPING COUNTRIES PUT FORWARD IN ADVOCATING A NEW ECONOMIC ORDER, AND OF MARKET LIBERALIZATION INCLUDED IN THE TOKYO DECLARATION THAT IS THE BACKDROP TO THE PRESENT MULTI-LATERAL TRADE NEGOTIATIONS. THESE CONFLICTING OBJECTIVES AND ISSUES ARE BEING JOINED IN THE FRAMEWORK OF THE MTNS.

MEANWHILE, WORK IS GOING FORWARD ON PARTICULAR ELEMENTS OF THE RESOLUTION ON TRADE. THE TRADE ACT OF 1974 HAS PROVIDED A BASIS FOR THE U.S. TO JOIN WITH 18 OTHER DEVELOPED COUNTRIES IN EXTENDING A GENERALIZED SYSTEM OF PREFERENCES TO DEVELOPING COUNTRIES. SO FAR 89 DEVELOPING COUNTRIES AND 43 DEPENDENT TERRITORIES HAVE BEEN DESIGNATED FOR BENEFICIAL STATUS UNDER THE ACT, WITH 24 OTHER DEVELOPING COUNTRIES UNDER CONSIDERATION. MEANWHILE, THE U.S. INTERNATIONAL TRADE COMMISSION IS PROCEEDING WITH ITS STUDY OF THE IMPACT ON U.S. PRODUCERS AND CONSUMERS OF EXTENDING PREFERENCES TO A LIST OF PRODUCTS RECOMMENDED BY AN INTERAGENCY TASK FORCE, AS REQUIRED BY THE ACT.

OTHER SPECIFIC ACTION HAS BEEN TAKEN BY FAO IN RESPONSE TO THIS RESOLUTION. FAO IS CONVENING SHORTLY A CONFERENCE TO DISCUSS INTERNATIONAL AGRICULTURAL ADJUSTMENT IN LIGHT OF DISCUSSION AT THE FOOD CONFERENCE.

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CONCLUSION.

TAKEN ALTOGETHER, THESE ACTIONS REPRESENT THE OUTLINE OF A COMPREHENSIVE ATTACK ON WORLD HUNGER. SOME MAY CONSIDER THAT PROGRESS HAS BEEN SLOW. BUT CONSIDERING THE GLOBAL SCOPE OF THE EFFORT BEING MARSHALLED, I THINK IT HAS BEEN REMARKABLY RAPID. MUCH OF WHAT HAS BEEN ACCOMPLISHED HAS BEEN DONE WITH U.S. LEADERSHIP AND ACTIVE COOPERATION THAT COULD BECOME THE MODEL FOR RECOGNIZING AND ACCOMMODATING GROWING INTERDEPENDENCE. KISSINGER

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